

all the people who, over the last 48 hours, have been sending in these remembrances and tributes to my father from his time in the Senate, and before that, here in the House where he was for 6 years, and for time periods before that, even.

I want to thank right up front, and in particular, his staff, who over the course of his 40 years in public service he understood were the ones that made him or broke him. He was a tough taskmaster, but he chose people that had that same set of principles and values and commitment to hard work. A lot of the tributes that have been coming in have talked about him being a workhorse, not a show horse. The idea that you put your head down, you get the job done, you try to build consensus where you can, but you always remember that you are here for a reason, that is to make good, strong policy that can help people.

He lived a full life, he made a difference in the lives of others, which is all he ever wanted to do. He knew he wanted to be in politics from a very early age, but his motivation was in looking at the opportunities that he had, the son of Greek immigrants who came to this country with very little, and he had the opportunity for education and advancement. His motivation was to make those available to others.

He loved being with people. He had a dry sense of humor. He enjoyed bantering with all who crossed his path, was intensely interested in the journey that others had taken to whatever station they held in life. And he was always asking: "Where are you from?" "What do you do?" "What is next for you?"

He had an inherent integrity that was strengthened by always striving to meet the expectations of those who put their confidence in him.

In politics, he was motivated, as I said, by the burning conviction that every individual has dignity and the potential to succeed if given a fair shot, and he was determined others would have those same opportunities that he had enjoyed.

□ 1930

He understood that if you share the credit, if you don't seek credit, you get a lot more done. That was how he operated.

A few years ago, I prevailed upon him to sit for about 20 hours of videotaped oral history because I wanted to make sure we captured the essence of his life and his career. So, we have this treasure, which we will make available to people as we move forward. I wanted, in his own words, to grab a few excerpts from that, that I think convey who he is and what he cared about.

I remember I came home one time, and he was sitting in the living room on the couch, and he was revved up about something. I don't know what the issue was that day that had gotten him sort of motivated. But he banged

on the side of the couch, and he said: "I am for the little guy. I am for the little guy." He might as well, in that moment, have been stating his purpose in public life. That is what motivated him from the moment he got up in the morning until the moment he went to bed at night.

I am going to read a couple of these things from his oral history. He talked about getting public housing, senior citizen affordable housing, in the Inner Harbor in Baltimore. He was very proud of the fact that you had this senior citizen housing there.

He said: "Next door to it is an expensive hotel, and behind the hotel is a big condominium building with very expensive condominiums in it. Every time I go by that building, I get a sense of satisfaction out of it, particularly in the nice weather. I look up, and all of these seniors are sitting out on their terraces, looking out over the water.

"I know the developers would give their eyeteeth to get ahold of that piece of property, but they don't have it. It is part of this affordable housing initiative, so a lot of seniors who worked hard all their lives and are now retired but don't have a lot of money have the benefit of this housing."

He said: "I always get a measure of satisfaction out of that."

We are in the midst, as we know, in our country of some really challenging moments addressing issues of justice. Here is a story about how my father, in a small way, made a statement around justice.

He said: "We had a situation in one of the rural towns on the Eastern Shore, and when they delivered the mail, the postman, he would come down the street here, and there would be these big houses, and he would go up to the house and put the mail in the mailbox. And then as he moved on down the street, the composition of the neighborhood would change, and the houses would get smaller, much smaller.

"The complexion of the people living in the houses changed, too, as you went down the street, so they went from White to Black. And down the street, instead of the postman going through the gate or whatever and up to the house, they were going to require those people to put a postbox at the street. So, some people came to us about that, a couple of pastors or ministers, and they pointed out this situation.

"So, I got the postal people in for a meeting in my office," my father said. "Now, what is happening here? As I understand it, up here with the big houses and the White residents, you are going to continue to go up to the house and put the mail through the door slot. But when you get down this way to the little houses and the African-American residents, you are going to require them to put a mail receptacle out at the pavement or at the curb, and you are not going to go up to the house anymore. What is the rationale for this policy?"

"Well, of course, if you lay it out like that, there isn't a rationale, at least not an acceptable one that can withstand the light of day. So, they dropped the project and went on delivering the mail."

Here is what my father said: "That is the way it ought to work. And I felt it is not a big issue, but we got some justice done for those people."

Small things that stand for big principles, that is what he was about.

I am going to close with just a couple of final thoughts here. First of all, I want to thank the Greek-American community, which was fiercely proud of my father's achievements. He was deeply proud of where he came from. It was an inspiration to him in public service. I want to thank so many who helped him along the way from that community.

My mother, Christine, who died 10 years ago, she came into his life like a bolt of lightning. He didn't know what hit him. He met her at Oxford, this brilliant, beautiful woman who could match him step for step in her intellect, and she knocked his socks off.

I think the great regret of his life was that he had hoped in his retirement—you know, public life is hard. We know that. I think all along the way, he was looking forward to that time when the two of them could spend more time together. Unfortunately, she passed away within a couple of years of his retirement, and they didn't get that opportunity together. I don't think he ever fully recovered from that.

I think about his legacy, and I understand, certainly, that there is no way his children—myself; my brother, Michael; and my sister, Janet—are ever going to match that legacy because it is a pretty unmatched one when you look at the record. But I think we are all doing what we can to continue it, to nurture it, to sustain it going forward.

Again, I thank you for the time to speak here, and I thank my colleagues for all of your support and kind words over the last couple of days.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the son of a great man, who that great man would say is a great son. He loved JOHN, but he respected JOHN. He believed that JOHN was enhancing the Sarbanes legacy, and he was right.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, with the expectation that Mr. TRONE from our State will continue to recognize other Members from our delegation who want to speak.

#### HONORING THE LIFE OF SENATOR PAUL SARBANES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. TRONE) is recognized for the remainder of the hour as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. TRONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RUPPERSBERGER).

Mr. RUPPERSBERGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the life and legacy of Senator Paul Sarbanes, a titan of Maryland politics and a man I considered a mentor during my time as Baltimore County Executive.

JOHN, those were very warm comments that you gave about your father, to be here as a Member of Congress and to make those comments. I know your father is looking down and is very proud of you and his whole family. It is a moment that we will never forget.

Anyone who values government accountability and integrity, anyone who loves or lives off of the Chesapeake Bay, is benefiting from the service of Senator Paul Sarbanes.

Though his legislative style was often described as quiet and unassuming, the accomplishments of Senator SARBANES were bold and groundbreaking. He will go down as one of the Chesapeake Bay's fiercest stewards in history.

In the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002, he pioneered legislation that continues to protect consumers today. From Watergate to Iran-Contra to Whitewater, he fought government corruption. He was a man of integrity and decency.

He didn't have a soapbox. He had sense. He led with respect, not rhetoric.

Over the course of his three decades of public service, Senator SARBANES showed us what we can achieve when taking credit just isn't a priority.

Today, we celebrate the legacy Senator SARBANES has left for our future generations.

I know Senator Sarbanes was very proud of his son JOHN's work here in the United States Congress and also his son Michael's work on behalf of the Baltimore City Schools and his daughter, Janet Sarbanes, who is an accomplished writer.

We will always remember Senator SARBANES.

Mr. TRONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, let me just start by saying, John, I always believed that you can tell a lot about a person by the children they raise. If I knew nothing else about your father than what I see in you, I know your father is a great man because you yourself are a great man. While you may think that you will never match your father's accomplishments, he believed and already knew that you have.

I was in many public events in the presence of you and your father, and I would watch him as he was watching you. It was so clear and obvious the pride that he took in you, as I know he did in his other children, knowing that you were stepping in his footsteps, continuing his legacy and his work for the people of Maryland.

So, JOHN, you have more than matched the matchless efforts of your father.

I want to recognize Leader HOYER for hosting this Special Order hour this

evening. I want to, again, thank my friend and colleague, Representative JOHN SARBANES, and his entire family, who have experienced a great loss.

Over his extraordinary life, Paul Sarbanes held many titles: husband and father, Maryland delegate, Congressman, Senator, chairman.

Throughout his decades on Capitol Hill, Paul Sarbanes never lost sight that he was a family man first. Second only to that, he was a true and dedicated public servant.

Senator Sarbanes worked for Maryland. He was a tireless advocate for our State and the many families who call Maryland home. They knew Paul Sarbanes had their backs. Upon news of his death, so many of his constituents fondly remembered how he was there for him and provided a helping hand.

Paul Sarbanes didn't approach service with bravado and bombast. He didn't crave the spotlight because he understood the people he served were in his spotlight because they were his priority.

He was a master legislator and deft committee questioner. Senator SARBANES actively shaped legislation that still affects Marylanders and Americans today.

He championed the restoration of our beloved Chesapeake Bay. He put consumer protections front and center in his work, cracking down on corporate fraud. He held Presidents accountable during the Watergate hearings and throughout his career. His work and relationships on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee helped create a safer world.

The example he set continues to inspire so many leaders and public servants in Maryland to put the work and the people first.

I first met Paul Sarbanes when I moved to Maryland in 1992. I attended one of his townhalls he had at Prince George's Community College. I knew nothing of the Senator at the time, and I listened to him address the concerns and the issues of my neighbors, his constituents.

While Paul Sarbanes was not necessarily known for or recognized among his many accomplishments for leading in the areas of national security and military issues—although he was on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and very effective—what I saw in him was a profound appreciation for the men and women who served in uniform. He had great respect for those men and women who took that uniform off and continued as veterans to make a contribution to our community.

That was my first impression and the most lasting impression that I had of Paul Sarbanes. He loved the men and women who served this country, and he deeply respected their service, even when they took off the uniform.

Senator Sarbanes was understated, and that was by design. But his work, life, and legacy speak for themselves.

To JOHN, Michael, Janet, and the entire Sarbanes family, I send my deepest

condolences for your loss. My prayers are with you, as we remember your father, this remarkable man and public servant, Senator Paul Sarbanes.

□ 1945

Mr. TRONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN).

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. TRONE for yielding, and I want to thank our distinguished majority leader for sponsoring this special hour devoted to honoring the great Senator Sarbanes.

Along with Senator MIKULSKI, Senator SARBANES was the first Senator I ever had. And because he served for 30 years in office, he was actually my Senator for most of my life already. He will always be, in my mind, the image of what a Senator is: someone of immense erudition, character, intelligence, and commitment.

But I got to know him primarily as the father of my friend and now my colleague, JOHN SARBANES, whom I have known since law school, and, therefore, I have known him for most of my life as well.

I can feel the tremors and the shock of this enormous loss for the people of Maryland. I feel deeply for my friend JOHN and for Dina, and for everyone in the Sarbanes family.

I see a lot of his father in JOHN SARBANES, just to echo what Congressman BROWN just said. Paul Sarbanes was a family man who loved, deeply, his children, JOHN, Michael, and Janet, and his big brood of grandchildren. Nothing brought that famous twinkle to his eye more than being in the presence of his beloved kids and grandkids. And, of course, the love story between him and Christine is legendary in our State.

Paul Sarbanes was a man of exquisite character who loved public things. He loved public schools, public universities, public parks. He loved public museums. He loved the res publica, the public thing, and he thought that there was no greater honor than in being a public servant.

I remember he once came out and spoke at an event that I had in Montgomery County, and he said—it really stuck with me. He said, there are many public goods that we try to protect—clean air, clean water, a beautiful bay, good schools, smooth roads—but we should never forget perhaps the greatest public good: the good of being well-governed. This is what allows us to sleep at night.

And he showed us every day in his career in public life the difference between being a public servant who instills justice in our institutions and being one who goes out to exploit public office for private gain. Those are simply in two different galaxies of human experience.

He showed us that those of us who aspire and attain the public office are nothing but the servants of the people in a democracy. We are here only to serve the people and the common good

the very best that we can. And the moment that we begin to act like the masters of the people rather than the servants of the people, that is the moment to evict and eject and reject and impeach and remove.

Indeed, of the many extraordinary moments in Senator Sarbanes' career, we should never forget that he was the first one to introduce Articles of Impeachment against Richard Nixon during the Watergate affair.

Even in the age of celebrity and the lifestyles of the rich and famous that he came to inhabit, an age of vast economic inequality and adoration of wealth, Senator Sarbanes knew what true wealth is, and he knew what it meant to truly be happy.

He loved the Greek philosophers, of course, and as a Greek-American philosopher himself, he showed us the meaning of what a lot of the Greeks tried to demonstrate in their writings.

He was always the poorest Member of the U.S. Senate in financial terms—nobody even came close, if I remember correctly. Not only did he not trade in the stock market on a daily basis, I don't even think he ever invested in the stock market. He had a savings account.

Now, I am recalling this from memory. Perhaps he did end up with a mutual fund or something.

I know that he was recorded, in term after term, the poorest Member of the Senate, financially. But Senator Sarbanes knew what true wealth is: a Sunday night family dinner, the love of your children, friendships that last over decades across the centuries, the merriment of little children, the thrill of being able to deliver a Social Security check or a VA check to someone who couldn't get it, showing respect for elders, teaching young people the value of education and hard work, having a wife who is your life partner and your soulmate and your equal in all things.

A man of extraordinary character and integrity who was interested in not what was popular, but what was right, Paul Sarbanes, to me, embodied a certain kind of politician.

When I first got into politics, I quickly recognized two different kinds of politicians. There were justice politicians and there were power politicians, and Paul Sarbanes, to me, epitomized what it meant to be a justice politician.

We, in Maryland, have suffered a great loss with the passing of Senator Sarbanes, but he has instilled in his family and in his staff and in everyone who learned from him a love for public things, and we can continue the passionate mission that he had in his life.

Mr. TRONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. MFUME).

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. TRONE, and I appreciate the opportunity to be able to join this Special Order on behalf of the late Senator Paul Sarbanes.

Mr. Speaker, I want to just thank JOHN SARBANES, our distinguished col-

league from Maryland, for being here, for accepting our joint and individual condolences over the last several days, and for being so very, very much like his father.

I also want to extend that same thanks to Michael Sarbanes and to their sister, Janet, and to the larger Sarbanes family of in-laws, many of whom we have not met, all of whom share in this hour of this overwhelming sense of loss. It is loss both for the family and, obviously, I hope we would agree, for the entire Nation, regardless of what side of that aisle that we sit or stand on.

I first came to know, if I may use that term, Paul Sarbanes in May of 1974, when, as a student of political science, I devoured every opportunity I could to watch political proceedings. And I remember the assignment that we got that May: to make sure that we watched, understood, and learned from what was then the impending impeachment proceedings against Richard Milhous Nixon.

So on a small, fuzzy TV, I got introduced to Paul Sarbanes. And along with him, I got introduced that month to Peter Rodino of New Jersey, the chair of the Judiciary Committee, and to Larry Hogan, Senior, the only Republican to vote for all Articles of Impeachment.

I was just struck by the fact that no matter how much I had heard or believed or given into the fact that politics was just posturing and that politicians would say anything and do anything in order to secure a vote, I saw three men that day, led by Paul Sarbanes, who exemplified, to me at least, the highest ideals of moral character that I had seen coming out of Washington—or any other chamber—because of the way they conducted themselves, but more importantly, because of the principles that they held onto, that in many instances could, in fact, and might, indeed, cost them votes.

But they believed, nonetheless, that the sacred oath of office that we all took when we came to this Chamber, or when others have gone to the Senate, must be something that we abide by.

And so I got a special sense of pride when I realized that not only was this Paul Sarbanes, this dashing young man who was absolutely brilliant on details, not only was he saying and doing and representing all of us, I thought, in the best way possible, he was also from the State of Maryland, which gave me extra pride and extra pause.

I said to myself, if I were to ever be elected to the office, that is the standard that I should subscribe to, that is the standard that I should emulate, and that is the standard that I think all of us benefit from, a standard bequeathed by Paul Sarbanes and others that is just as important today as it was that hot day in May of 1974.

And so while the House has a sense of loss because of Paul's time here and his work with so many of us, because the Senate has that same sense of loss, I

would dare suggest that in Annapolis, Maryland, that the State legislature feels that same way for the many days that he walked those halls and the many bills that he helped usher through them.

We all think about Sarbanes-Oxley, but Paul Sarbanes, lest it ever be misunderstood, fought like crazy to expand affordable housing and to stabilize Social Security and Medicaid trust funds and Medicare trust funds. He fought, as John mentioned earlier, for the little things that may escape many of us, that we might feel that we are too big or too proud to do, just the notion of making sure that people got the same mail delivery on a block who happened to be Black and who happened to be citizens.

So there are a lot of things that can and will be said, I think and I know, about Paul and his life and what he stood for and what he believed in. Let me say a couple of others.

Paul Sarbanes had a good heart. He loved Christine. Whenever I saw him, I saw her. And I said to him once: Paul, isn't Christine tired of you dragging her out to this dinner and to this event and to this speaking engagement?

He said: No, she is actually dragging me out, because there are some times when I don't want to go out.

But he had a very, very good heart, and they represented just the best of matrimony.

I sent a text to John an hour after I learned of the passing of his dad, and I said, among other things: John, you and your sisters won the parents sweepstakes. You just had great parents, great role models, who were great Americans.

So Shakespeare said of that kind of good heart long, long ago, something that he took to pen with, he said that a good heart is like the Sun and the Moon, for it shines bright; it never changes because it keeps its course.

Paul Sarbanes kept his course. He was unawed by opinion, unswayed by flattery, and undismayed by disaster. He instinctively knew that America was not like a blanket: one size, one shape, one texture, or one color; but, rather, and instead, he realized that the America that we all love is so much more like a quilt: different shapes, different sizes, different textures, and different colors, all woven and held together by a single precious thread of democracy.

Paul has taught us so much, and as students who followed him, worked with him, believed with him, loved him, and now miss him, we could never be more thankful.

□ 2000

Mr. TRONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I thank the majority leader for organizing this Special Order.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak for Senator Sarbanes' employees, and especially for my sister-in-law Nellie Freeman, who worked for Paul Sarbanes for 17 years, from December of 1989 to January of 2007.

I am not going to talk about all the amazing things about Senator Sarbanes that his Maryland colleagues have eloquently mentioned. JOHN, I am definitely not going to talk about fathers and sons because then I will start crying, but my dad, Sandy Levin, who served in this House for 36 years, and my Uncle Carl Levin, who served for 36 years in the Senate, many of them with Senator Sarbanes, both loved him very much.

But let me talk about Nellie and, by extension, his broader staff. Nellie loved serving in the Senate on the staff, and she loved the Senator. That is what she called him, "the Senator." And JOHN SARBANES saw Nellie Freeman for who she was. He saw her talent and he unleashed her to interact with the people of Maryland, of which she was a native, to organize events, to organize his participation in festivals and convenings of all kinds. And she just loved this work. He saw the value in it and understood that the connection with human beings is the essence of politics.

He once said that Nellie knew more constituents and more local organizations than anyone else in Maryland. And, you know, I think she is just incredibly proud of that to this day. I know that she shared a camaraderie and an esprit de corps and a joy of working for Senator Paul Sarbanes.

How you treat your staff and how you see your staff says a lot about you as a public servant. Senators have a lot more staff than we do over here in the House, and he really knew his staff and treated them great.

After Senator Sarbanes retired, Nellie went on to work for another Senator, and then she retired. And when she retired, her current employer, the Senator, couldn't attend her retirement party, but Paul Sarbanes did. He showed up and he spoke about Nellie. That is the kind of person he was.

So it is a great loss for Maryland and for our country. And I just want to say to all of his former staff that you all don't get enough appreciation. Our staff doesn't. Senator Sarbanes treated his staff right, and I hope we all can live up to his example.

Mr. TRONE. Mr. LEVIN, I, too, rise today to honor the life and legacy of Maryland Senator Paul Sarbanes.

The magnitude of his loss can be felt throughout Maryland and the country.

Senator Sarbanes spent his entire career fighting for the issues that Marylanders care the most about. He was a champion for justice, authoring the first article of impeachment against a corrupt President. He was a champion for fairness, tackling corporate regulatory reform and ensuring transparency for investors. He was a champion for the environment, spearheading

efforts to protect Maryland's beloved Chesapeake Bay for generations to come.

It is not just his long list of accomplishments that Senator Sarbanes will be remembered for, it is also his dedication to the people. Senator Sarbanes defined what it means to be a public servant. He showed up in the communities that felt left behind. He listened to the concerns of his constituents, and he worked hard to get things done for our State and the country.

That type of leadership is hard to find here in Washington. We can all learn a lot from him. I know I have. My wife, June, and I extend our condolences to the friends and family of Senator Sarbanes, especially to his son, our friend, Congressman JOHN SARBANES.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

#### A FAREWELL TO CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentlewoman from Indiana (Mrs. BROOKS) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mrs. BROOKS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BYRNE), my colleague and wonderful, dear friend.

#### FAREWELL TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. BYRNE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding. My grandparents were from Indiana, and the gentlewoman from Indiana represents her State well, and I have appreciated our relationship.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to give my farewell speech to this House, and I am going to surprise some people by saying that I rise today with hope and optimism. I know that is unusual because there are people on both sides of the House that want to say this country is in a bad place and heading in the wrong direction.

I believe that view ignores two very important things. One is our history, and the other is what I hear the people of America telling us.

Several years ago, a number of us from the Senate and the House, both parties, had the privilege of spending an evening at the Library of Congress with the noted American history writer David McCullough. At the end of the evening, the moderator turned to him and said: What parting words do you have for these Members of Congress?

And he said: I think if the people of America knew their history better, they would be more hopeful, they would be more optimistic.

I have been listening to the people of my district for the last 7 years. When I was listening to them, I had no preconceived notions about what they thought, and, buddy, they told me. And the American people, through elections, have told us, too. And the great thing about our elections is there are no filters.

If you go back and look at the history of this country, you will see some notable things. One is that this country was founded by people who believed in principles, in morals, and values that defined who we are. They took a tremendous risk in fighting the most powerful military nation in the world, Great Britain, and they did it after declaring something very important, not just that they were declaring independence, but the reasons for why they were doing it.

That Congress was the Second Continental Congress. The First Continental Congress, which met in 1774, is the forerunner to this House, a group of people elected to represent the people of this country. It is a notion as old as the creation of Parliament and the House of Commons of England, something that was their heritage.

Now, they took a great risk because they felt they faced a great risk. They had been told when those colonies were founded that they would have the same rights as all English people, and they found after the French and Indian war that that wasn't true, that those rights were going to be taken from them, and they were willing to fight for those rights.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me say this very clearly. They didn't come into this with clean hands. When the Europeans came to this continent, this was not a new world. This was an old world. There was a civilization already here that had been here for thousands of years. And between our germs, which they had no defense against, and other things worse than that, we essentially took this land from them.

In 1619, European slave traders brought the first slave to this country. So when they went into that fight with the British, they didn't have clean hands. But societies are complex things, and because they didn't have clean hands didn't mean they didn't have clean hearts. And they did.

They waged an incredible war for 5 years against this great military power and won. And they won because of what they stood on. Go back and look at the Declaration of Independence. One sentence in there really says it all: "We hold these truths. . . ."

Truths, absolutes, not something you get to change your mind about.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . ."

Yes, I know they used the word "men," but the principle of equality was in there. It was in what they were standing on. And they said we were created equal, which means we had a Creator. And they go on in the very next phrase and they say: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator. . . ."

They were gifted. Endowed means gifted. They were gifted by their Creator, by God himself with certain unalienable rights, rights that can't be taken away from them. And that